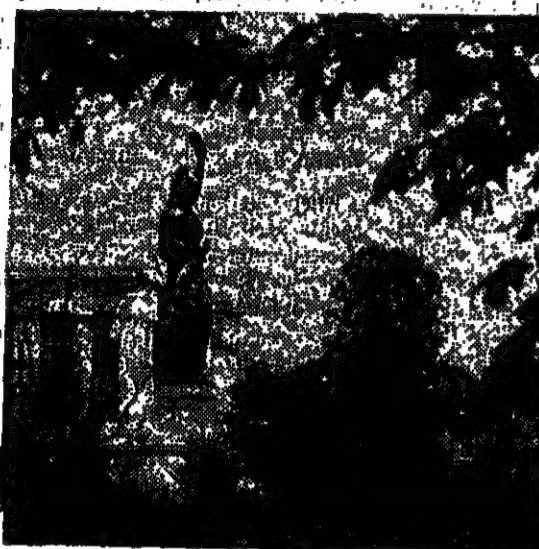




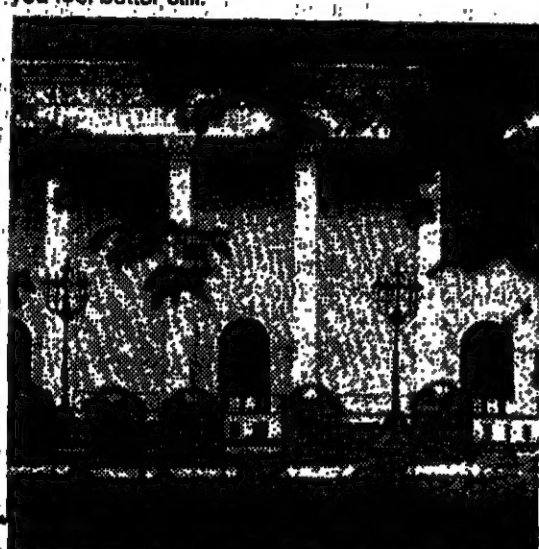
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The German Tribune

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Brandt, Pompidou & Heath: progress or stagnation?



At the 5 July routine summit meeting between Chancellor Brandt and President Pompidou in Bonn's Palais Schaumburg a third man was, for the first time, present in spirit if not in person. From now on Premier Heath of Britain has a say in matters European, including Franco-Federal Republic cooperation. In London Bonn and Paris have gained a third man in Europe and for the time being at least all three seem to be delighted at the idea.

This development marks the beginning of a new phase of probing and manoeuvring in the process of European integration, a phase in which, to use Foreign Minister Walter Scheel's term, "deeds are not measured by the yardstick of beautiful utopias."

The days of grand designs are over. They may, to use Herr Scheel's words again, have winged the imagination, but imagination and good will have not proved sufficient to bring about practical progress.

On this score Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Charles de Gaulle had one thing in common. Their aims were not to be brought into conformity with realities in Europe and, at times, with the realities of world affairs.

This is why Bonn, Paris and London agree to embrace a new European pragmatism. What this actually means is that for the time being at any rate European issues will primarily be assessed from national viewpoints.

What is good for London, Paris and

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It is rated good for Europe, but only provided it does suit all three. As always with a pragmatic approach there is a risk involved, the risk of finding together without knowing exactly where the common destination is. The time being, so it would seem, the situation is a Europe of limited possibilities.

Three issues, the limits of freedom of the press, the point of classifying documents and the war in Vietnam, were involved.

ed at the cost of a reduction in the impetus of integration?

A matter of days before meeting Willy Brandt in Bonn Georges Pompidou clearly and uncompromisingly insisted on retaining the right of veto in the EEC Council of Ministers because, as he put it, "one does not have the right to impose the will of the majority on one country."

In his own words Edward Heath agreed with M. Pompidou that France and Britain "do not aim at building a Europe federal in form and that the interests of one country cannot be taken over by another."

For France, and since the meeting between Mr Heath and M. Pompidou for Britain too, national sovereignty would appear to have priority over European solidarity.

With President Pompidou emphasising independence at every official opportunity and Premier Chaban-Delmas discovering a national sky above him at the Paris aero show France does make it seem as though M. Pompidou's proposal of a confederation of European states is nothing more than an international organisation in which all options remain open for all member-countries.

It is small wonder that the European Commission in Brussels, a body of which France has never been particularly fond, is seriously worried about its future.

But to ask silly questions is to get silly answers. Britain, France and this country are agreed that in Europe today supranational institutions cannot be conjured out of a hat; they presuppose common interests.

Put pragmatically the question confronting the countries of Western Europe is: Where is the intersection at which the varying national interests combine to form a joint European interest?

To ask this question is to ask at the same time what motive forces are at present effective in Europe and what definition of Europe can be made to the outside world.

On this point France has extremely detailed ideas. Now that M. Pompidou has gained Mr Heath's approval of the



President Pompidou of France started a two-day visit to this country at Mainz on 5 July with a steamer trip along the Rhine to Bonn. Here seen in conversation with Chancellor Brandt on his way to the jetty. M. Pompidou celebrated his sixtieth birthday on board before getting down to the serious business of the latest round of routine Franco-Federal Republic summit talks that evening and the following day.

(Photo: AP)

French conception of the future of Europe he will have tried to convince this country too.

In common with Bonn and London M. Pompidou has now departed a fair distance from the Gaullist view that Europe must come to be a third force between America and Russia, the two hegemonial powers.

Europe, the French President has come to realise, must differ from America without parting company with the United States.

Prior to his visit to Bonn M. Pompidou even went so far as to describe Europe as a small, beleaguered peninsula in allusion to the Soviet power bloc and to underline cooperation with the United States in view of problems with the East.

Close partnership with the United States does not, in France's view, mean that Europe must be an American satellite.

Europe is to draw a distinction between itself and the United States in two respects in particular: in a joint European monetary policy towards the dollar and, at a later stage, in defence policy, which admittedly presupposes that Britain gradually loosens its close nuclear ties with the USA.

The need for a European monetary policy and the problem of defence, newly posed, following a possible reduction in US troop strength in Europe, could, then, come to be the major catalysts of a subsequent political union of Europe.

The joint endeavour to find the lowest common denominator for Europe does not mean that M. Pompidou's visit to Bonn will have been all sweetness and light.

France considers the continued floating of the Deutschmark a crucial handicap in the way of what all feel to be a necessary common European monetary policy. This does not, of course, entirely hide the fact that French national interests are made out to be European interests.

Had they wanted to Brandt and Pompidou could even have argued about the French President's fixed idea that the French language must predominate in Europe. It is, however, doubtful whether they will have done so at a moment when Britain has emerged as a new major factor in Europe.

Willy Brandt, Georges Pompidou and Edward Heath are all confronted by the same alternative: "Either they allow themselves to be played off against each other, so returning to the erstwhile policy of balancing one European country against the other, so soon making nonsense of the painstaking efforts involved in constructing the Common Market."

Or they opt for progressive economic and monetary integration and gradual political cooperation by clinging to what, for the moment, are a handful of common European interests without concealing the fact that differences of opinion exist.

Hans Keppler
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 July 1971)

Sound judgment by US Supreme Court

The dispute between the American government and the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* is a classic example of how a conflict of this kind should be handled.

The Federal government exercised restraint and allowed the courts to pass judgment. This fairness of approach and the well-timed decision to put the top secret Vietnam study at the disposal of Congress has stood Washington in good stead even though the court case has been lost.

Three issues, the limits of freedom of the press, the point of classifying documents and the war in Vietnam, were involved.

On the first two points both sides fielded weighty arguments. By deciding in favour of the right of information the Supreme Court has undoubtedly done the general public good service, however.

In future Washington will have to be more careful about labelling documents top secret.

As for the war, publication of the material in a number of newspapers did not spark off the debate; it merely enriched and intensified it.

One can but hope that following the press revelations and the Supreme Court's ruling it will continue to be beneficial.

(Händelsblatt, 2 July 1971)

Diplomatic battle commences as Moscow tries to split Britain and Europe

DIE WELT

Both the British and French governments will realise that their decision in favour of a 300-million strong Western Europe runs counter to Soviet wishes. The Ten will tend to develop into a politically effective centre of power emerging on its flanks, no matter how peaceful its aims may be, as a rival. It has made no bones about its opposition to British membership of the Common Market and will do its best to undermine the trend and nip it in the bud. A means of so doing has already been found. It is the all-European security system concealing the Soviet idea of a pan-European community. An all-European or Western European community will be the subject of the great diplomatic debate in Europe. The Soviet project is not intended to serve the interests of peaceful coexistence between large and equal groups of European states. It is an alternative to Greater Western Europe. The aim behind the Soviet pan-European idea is to make mergers in the West appear superfluous. The target is to induce the individually weak countries of Western Europe to join forces politically and economically with the powerful and well-organised Communist bloc, a combination that would needs to be dominated by Moscow. Viewing each and every obstacle in the way of its untiring progress as a threat to its security the Soviet Union will before long be calling a united Western Europe a threat to détente and peace. Moscow rates Britain the country most likely to lend economic and military weight, Atlantic orientation and political determination to an integrated Western Europe. Its forthcoming diplomatic

After the electoral victory of Dom Mintoff's Malta Labour Party political observers were agreed that spectacular developments were in the offing. The dynamic new Premier, a flexible tactician, had headed as much in his campaign speeches and the latest development is doubtless only a beginning. Mr Mintoff has assessed the various possibilities open to him and they run counter to the approach advocated by his predecessor, Dr Borg Olivier. Dr Olivier announced his intention of applying for membership of Nato (at present there is an important Nato base on the island). Mr Mintoff's declared intention was to break with Nato. Months ago the Malta Labour Party declared neutrality as its aim. It was merely a question of what form this neutrality was to take. It could well be a half-way house in the direction of a new political alignment. Dom Mintoff is not only friendly with the Arabs, the countries of North Africa and the Middle East; he is also on good terms with the Soviet Union. He may well begin by entering into negotiations with Britain, Malta being bound by a military alliance with Britain for the next three years. He could, for instance, press for more money by threatening to insist on an early with-

drawal of the 2,500 British troops still stationed on the island. Mr Mintoff will certainly sell Malta for all it is worth and the island is still of great strategic importance. It forms part of a chain of islands extending from Cyprus and Crete via Sardinia and the Balearic Islands to Gibraltar. It is also midway between Sicily and North Africa, which is why it is the home of Nato's NavSouth base, which together with Maralmed in Naples is responsible for sea and sea-air patrols of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Malta plays a significant role in reconnaissance. It remains an unworkable aircraft carrier. Reconnaissance would be considerably more difficult for the West were Malta no longer to be available. Were Malta neutral the Soviet Union would stop at nothing to take over the position the West now occupies. It would

as quickly as possible. Feeling Soviet counter-pressure as it will Britain will also need to afford Western cooperation as much political substance and organisational cohesion as possible. There has been a great deal of talk of Britain being destined to drive a wedge through the process of Western European integration yet as things are Britain could well turn out to be the new driving force behind integration. As controversy over the future of Europe begins Western Europe will have to pay closest attention to this country. The Federal Republic will be the main

Secretary-General U Thant would like to make membership of the United Nations universal. UN membership for as many states and countries in the world as possible is not just a bee in his burrow, though. It is a cardinal principle of the organisation he represents. The most glaring exception to this rule is, of course, Peking but gaps recur wherever nations are divided, as in Germany's case. U Thant had plans to pave the way for this country, or so it was understood from reports on Chancellor Brandt's last visit to the United States. Willy Brandt was not only awarded an honorary degree. He also conferred with President Nixon and Secretary-General U Thant mentioned his idea of holding separate talks with Foreign Ministers Scheel and Winzer of Bonn and East Berlin respectively in Geneva but at a less conspicuous venue than the UN building. UN membership for both German states is a topic that is not only in the air. Since Chancellor Brandt's twenty-point Kassel programme of May 1970 it has also been in print. And the latest formula

Mintoff's Malta looks like rocking the Nato boat

start by putting Soviet vessels into dock for repairs and overhauls. The next stage would be even more attractive offers such as that made to Egypt to supervise the construction of the Aswan high dam. It is considered improbable in the West that the island could remain genuinely neutral for any period of time. The Kremlin has already incorporated various North African countries within its sphere of influence. In a number of them Soviet troops are based. To a large extent the North African coastline can be written off by the West. Now the islands are at stake. The Soviet Union is going about its advance most skillfully. Take Cyprus, for instance. Hardly had Greece and Turkey, two Nato countries, succeeded in putting a damper on strife between the two communities but President Makarios went over the heads of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots and travelled to Moscow. In the Soviet capital he called on Russia as Cyprus's protector. Malta could well go the same way. Should Nato actually be compelled to

theatre of controversy between the community of Western Europe and the pan-European.

The Soviet Union sees this as the weak link in the Western European System. Bonn lists the foremost Soviet political and diplomatic aim.

The latent contradiction between Bonn government's Eastern and Western policies is bound to come to a head in confrontation between the Great East and pan-European ideas.

The Kremlin is not going to be terms with any Western European economic field during their Economic Congresses and sum up the effects of their own economic policy.

In view of the present Bonn government's split motives its policies must be expected to be put to a severe test in the Economic Congress held in Bonn and being sought to influence them in such a way that the test is passed with flying colours.

Dieter (Die Welt, 30 June 1971) Economic Congress by the standard of its predecessors. The Congress Chairman, Philipp von Bismarck, frankly admitted at the end that a lot of what was discussed during the two days had been no more than a questioning of what had been done and what should be done. No definite answer could yet be given, he said.

Taking this as a yardstick, too many speakers did not stick to the point and included the most prominent. Christian Democrat Chairman Kurt Georg Kiesinger began it all by stating that the social market economy was a little or nothing by way of reform. But none of the direction of coexistence of the German states within the free nations.

UN membership for the two German states is the very last conceivable and last step designed to lead to practical governing coalition's attack on the free so both logic and common sense credit private enterprise with much flexibility or initiative.

It is certainly low on the list of Kassel twenty points and the power not go beyond being a review of the past in the GDR must be well aware of a self-justification on the one hand and a vague muttering about the enormous range of the free market economy on the other.

The talk with GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer has now been a matter of U Thant's ill-health. In its Opposition role in Bonn the CDU/CSU is certainly self-critical enough to recognise that this is not sufficient to provide suitable content for the political intentions once summed up by Strauss in the Bundestag in the pithy "We are the alternative".

There are good reasons why the CDU/CSU Economic Congress turned out as it did. The first problem was obvious from the limitations sent out. There was to be a broad phalanx of the prominent politicians from the two sister parties.

Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Franz Josef Strauss, Gerhard Schröder, Rainer Barzel, Heinrich Köppler, Helmut Kohl and Gerhard Stoltenberg were all there. No one put it, Soviet expansion in the last thought capable (even if not worthy) of higher office was to miss the congress.

No special mention need be made of the fact that such prominent politicians as these are more interested at present in putting forward their own views and improving their image than in working out a general economic programme for the party.

In view of the guests from private enterprise attending the congress, this idea was not at all wrong. Ever since the time of Konrad Adenauer the CDU/CSU has voted for personalities and not programmes.

The second problem was a result of the fact that the social market economy be given more definite shape as a programme (and not as a convenient subject for prominent politicians) if at the same time the line dividing the views of the CDU/CSU on this issue from those of the Social Democrats and Free Democrats is to be drawn?

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vacate its base on Malta it would be end of yet another cornerstone of Western defence policy. Developments in the Mediterranean were certainly viewed with alarm by the last Nato conference in Brussels and Lisbon. As US Defence Secretary Melvin R. Anderson said in the last Nato conference of NATO on an uneven keel. Dr Helmut Kohl (Kölnischer Nachrichten, 29 June 1971)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Opposition's Economic Congress leaves questions unanswered

When the Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists formed the government, they were able to survey the economic field during their Economic Congresses and sum up the effects of their own economic policy. That must be borne in mind when the present Bonn government's split motives its policies must be expected to be put to a severe test in the Economic Congress held in Bonn and being sought to influence them in such a way that the test is passed with flying colours.

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In view of the guests from private enterprise attending the congress, this idea was not at all wrong. Ever since the time of Konrad Adenauer the CDU/CSU has voted for personalities and not programmes.

The second problem was a result of the fact that the social market economy be given more definite shape as a programme (and not as a convenient subject for prominent politicians) if at the same time the line dividing the views of the CDU/CSU on this issue from those of the Social Democrats and Free Democrats is to be drawn?

It is not possible for a congress of this kind to spend all its time attacking Socialists and Utopians without mentioning any names or programmes when anyone attending will associate the

views expressed with his own personal bogeyman? The target was therefore most unclear. Only attentive listeners were able to recognise that the young generation of negation was meant, the generation of reformers opposed to the political system.

The CDU/CSU must get one thing straight. The party does itself and its cause no good when it rejects such unclearly expressed Utopian thoughts with equally unclearly expressed self-justification.

The CDU/CSU is thus getting into the same danger as the SPD executive in its dispute with the programmatic resolutions of the Young Socialists.

What we need are pertinent arguments. Rainer Barzel phrased it with typical elegance at the end of the congress - though it is a pity he left it until the end. We do not need questioners alone, he said, but answers and people who are prepared to bear the responsibility for them.

There were questioners enough at the Economic Congress and people who were prepared to be responsible. It was only the answers that there was a shortage of. What is the position of the CDU/CSU on the role of the State in the free market economy? Is the State a mere court of law where paragraphs of the penal code can be discussed or is it a threat to individual freedom?

Hans Feuerlein (Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 June 1971) Does it reform society or does society change because of its reforms? Can it only point out the way for the economy or can it order, reform, help or intervene in some other way in the country's economic structure and society? These questions were asked but not answered. The younger generation was far more interested in such questions than the Economic Congress was prepared to believe.

And what is the CDU/CSU's position on the social obligations incumbent on owners of property? Is Professor Burgbacher's wages plan really the party's last word on the subject? And what is its stance on the contradiction between a social market economy and uncontrolled economic forms of a liberal nature, as the 1971 Düsseldorf version of the Berlin party programme so provocatively puts it? Not a word was said on the subject.

The leading politicians attending the congress, with the exception of Franz Josef Strauss, all indicated directly or indirectly that they wanted to bridge the generation gap for the sake of the free market economy and defend what has grown up organically against Utopian dreams.

But this year's Economic Congress made no active contribution towards this. As paradoxically as it may sound, it was the prominent members of the party who prevented it. Perhaps the guests would not have taken very kindly to it if they had done.

The question is whether the party can afford to do nothing about it. Young opponents must be represented at the next congress at any rate. This might make it less solemn and ceremonious but would that really be a mistake? Hans Feuerlein (Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 June 1971)

The latter group includes Leber, a number of local politicians headed by Munich's Mayor Hans Jochen Vogel and a section of the moderate Young Socialists who see tax increases as a way of implementing their ideas on fighting public poverty. To reduce the affair to its basic essentials, it is a question of mid-term tax increases. This was intimated during the recent session of the SPD party council and confirmed at the party's congress in local government held at Karlsruhe.

The alternative set out does not scream out for popularity. It is not a case of moderation or be damned - that is a point in the SPD's favour - but of more tax or more savings. To put it in an exaggerated form, it is an alternative between rescuing the programme of reforms by increasing taxes or adopting a flexible reform policy with less reforms at present in favour or stability. The question of whether priority should be given to private or public spending has been asked more plainly than ever before.

Leber's displeasure is reminiscent of that of mighty feudal lords. It shows how serious the fight about the main domestic issues will be in the next two years. It is only a few days ago that Brandt reprimanded the State Secretary in the Social Services Ministry for publishing his plans at too early a stage. Leber has now caused a stir with his reprimand of the Economic Affairs Minister.

This style - just what does Horst Ehmke, the Minister in the Chancellor's Office or coordination minister, think of all this? - cannot be allowed to continue. The Chancellor must make set the basic guidelines. He is expected to make a decision that could put him into a serious position. He will not be able to avoid this decision if he is not to give rise to a feeling that the government is leaderless on the domestic front. Hans Schuster (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 July 1971)

Strauss puzzle

Franz Josef Strauss' most recent statement on the question of a CDU/CSU candidate for the post of Chancellor has set minds a-wondering in Bonn.

In an interview with *Handelsblatt* the CSU Chairman said there were situations where it would be perfectly normal for the CSU to supply the candidate.

He would not press for the post, he said, but if he were called he would not refuse. There was no unwritten law that the Christian Democrats always had to supply the Chancellor.

The CSU Chairman's words have caused confusion in Christian Democrat circles as it is not known for sure whether Strauss was claiming the post or was merely pointing out that decisions could not be taken without his approval.

It is thought possible that Strauss will do all he can to prevent the CDU congress in Saarbrücken this October from taking a decision on who is to stand for Chancellor. The congress is being held to elect a new party chairman.

Rainer Barzel's election to party leader would be the same as appointing him candidate for the Chancellorship as he has spoken out clearly in favour of uniting the two posts.

The belief that Strauss' latest statement is meant to stop the party from deciding on a candidate is supported by remarks made by politicians close to him who claim that the CSU Chairman has no serious wish for the post.

Commenting on Strauss' statement that he was on call, Rainer Barzel told journalists attending the press conference held after the CDU Economic Congress, "I have not yet heard a call for him."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 June 1971)

Economic policy dilemma splits Social Democrat ranks

No conflict between Cabinet members is known from the era of the Grand Coalition that would measure up to the personal venom in Transport Minister Georg Leber's attack on the Finance Ministry headed by his colleague Karl Schiller.

Though it was the actual department that was criticised, Leber's phraseology suggests that it was Schiller who was the target.

Leber said he would no longer sit back and accept officials' title battle regardless of whether or not their brainwaves had the official sanction of the responsible member of the Cabinet.

The word title battle refers to the Finance Ministry's plans for changes in road tax. Leber fears that these could run contrary to his road construction programme.

But there is a basic conflict of principles behind the attack. On the one hand lies the demand made by Leber and other leading Social Democrats that tax increases from 1 January 1972 should give the government, Federal states and local authorities the financial means necessary for public investment. On the other hand there is Schiller's intention to curb the growth in government expenditure by cutting back in certain fields.

Schiller, the main attraction for voters in the 1969 elections and today's "Super Minister", is not just any old Cabinet member.

Since the Chancellor entrusted him with the Ministry of Finance on top of his own Ministry of Economic Affairs, he has more powers of jurisdiction than any other minister during the history of the Federal Republic.

It is not by accident that Chancellor Brandt has linked his political future with

that of his Super Minister during the second half of his legislative period. It is not the Ostpolitik, government policy concerning Eastern Europe, that will decide the outcome of the next elections but the ways and means in which the problems arising from the clash between short-term economic policy and long-term reforms are solved.

It is tempting to assume that Leber's broadside against Schiller was tantamount to an appeal to the Chancellor not to identify himself with the plans of the Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance.

Leber does not stand alone in either party or Cabinet when he makes this appeal. Willy Brandt's government has managed to rule for two years without a coalition crisis. The basic conflict overshadowing the second half of his term of office is of a different nature.

It splits the party and the Cabinet and overshadows the controversy between the Young Socialists and SPD leaders that has caused such a stir in recent months.

The new fronts formed within the SPD when it comes to questions of economic and financial policy unite members that have never fought side by side before.

In his attempt to hold the diverging wings of his party together, Brandt has always gone further toward meeting the desires of the Young Socialists than Schiller has.

Leber was a red rag to many Young Socialists and left-wing members of the party, if this not altogether apt metaphor is allowed. But new groups now seem to be forming within the party. On the one side stand the Chancellor and his Super Minister, on the other the largescale consumers of the finances supplied under the Budget.

POLITICS

Brandt must redefine priorities if re-election is to be assured

STUTTGARTER
ZEITUNG

It is no coincidence that summaries of the work done in the Bundestag during the first half of the sixth legislative period sound dull and flat.

A look back has a sobering effect on the observer while a look forward is not very encouraging either, a fact as true for the Christian Democrats as it is for the Social and Free Democratic coalition headed by Willy Brandt.

The Opposition's embarrassment can be of little consolation to the government if it still measures its success according to what the Chancellor told the Bundestag on 28 October 1969: "In our Federal Republic we face the necessity of comprehensive reforms. Carrying out the necessary reforms and increasing affluence still further will only be possible if there is economic growth and a healthy financial situation."

When he made that speech Willy Brandt was able to claim that his government had inherited a difficult economic legacy. But that excuse is gradually wearing thin.

A few weeks before the halfway stage of this legislative period Chancellor Brandt and his coalition were shocked into seeing how far from healthy the financial position in the Federal Republic is — when Finance Minister Alex Möller resigned.

The fact that his survey of budgetary policy had not been read to ministers nor even demanded by them for inspection speaks volumes. The same is true of Karl Schiller's statement that the only reforms that could now be carried out were those that require no additional expenditure.

This gloomy picture should not be used

to draw the conclusion that even a government headed by the Social Democrats cannot work wonders or that reforms in Willy Brandt's sense of the word can only be carried out slowly and with difficulty if at all.

Christian Democrats are making it too easy for themselves when they state that life is a continual reform and everything is more or less settled by itself.

The subject of reform was not introduced into political discussions because Willy Brandt and the coalition felt so strong after the last Bundestag election or were suffering from megalomania.

The government statement expressed the deep concern felt throughout the country over the steadily increasing disparity between political action and developments in practically all spheres.

Newspaper headlines illustrate this fact plainly — "Cosmopolitan city with a heart faces heart attack", "Crime rate increases", "Teacher shortage reaches thirty thousand" or "Hospitals in sick state". The list can be extended ad infinitum.

There can be no doubt that, on taking office in 1969, the Social Democrats and Free Democrats had the firm intention of carrying out the tasks imposed upon the government and the Bundestag by obvious shortcomings — and still have it today, though to a lesser extent.

The fire of the first hour has died down. This understandable fact may even have its good side. But it is rather serious when this initial fire is replaced not by critical examination but by guaging doubts and even resignation.

The situation is made no less serious by the fact that the Opposition is contributing towards it by indulging in malicious pleasure at the government's embarrassment and making unhelpful

criticism instead of providing better alternatives.

But Willy Brandt, his Cabinet and the coalition will not be able to bring this up in defence if at the end of the second half of the legislative period the government is found to have failed in carrying out the comprehensive reforms the Chancellor described as necessary.

The coalition must do more than it has up to now and deal with other fields as well if it is to keep this promise.

There are indeed reforms costing little or no money. It is also true that most fields of reform had first to be thoroughly explored. But the most important thing is to introduce some clarity about the multitude of connections between the State and the economy.

Economic activity of every sort forms the material basis of life. The State and local councils must create conditions enabling economic activity to thrive.

That is why most of the reforms lead to the question of how much of the national income is to flow into the State coffers to afford the investment required and pay the necessary staff.

In cannot be overlooked that the proportion of the national income used for communal obligations must be increased. That is why the examination of which fields require or do not require urgent reform must be carried out all the more thoroughly.

And this is the basic mistake in the policy conducted by the Chancellor and the coalition. They were in a hurry to carry out reforms in a sphere where the were least urgent — in the social services. In the budget they continued the earlier policies of the CDU/CSU by other means — that is with expenditure running to millions of Marks which will be of little help in future. They conducted this policy even though younger men in the CDU/CSU were beginning to turn away from it.

The success or failure of the second half of Brandt's term of office will depend on whether he manages to redefine priorities. And unless appearances are deceptive it is this that will determine whether the majority of electors are willing to vote him in for a further term of office.

Hans Dieter Klass
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 June 1971)

Local government conference bids for option on real estate deals

Local government politicians no longer want to be unconditionally bound to follow decisions made in Bonn. They want to have their say and even be able to make their views felt when laws are being drafted.

They want this right to be firmly entrenched in formal procedure so that it does not depend on the discretion of the responsible politicians in Bonn whether local government bodies are consulted on an issue or not.

Local government bodies must above all have a right to deliberate on decisions concerning State planning or investment.

This course will quite plainly lead to local government becoming the third constitutional pillar of the Federal Republic along with the central government and the Federal states.

But local government bodies lack more than just influence and money. They also lack land and it was this that was the third main subject discussed at the congress in Karlsruhe.

How can town and local councils carry out their many functions, most of them involving some need of land or property, and not be tied white in a time of uninhibited land speculation?

Most effort went in to finding satisfactory proposals for a new property law. Delegates were agreed only on the social obligations incumbent on property. This

principle is after all firmly established in Basic Law. But how is it to be put into practice?

The most extreme course, transferring land ownership to local government bodies, was not approved by the majority of delegates.

It could not have been approved as even the most left-wing politicians attending the congress realised that reasonable compensation would have to be paid to people whose property was confiscated in the public interest — and there is not enough money in the kitty for that.

The catchphrase "communalisation of land" was soon no longer heard for this very reason. Housing Minister Lauritzen suggested on the other hand that local councils should buy up as much property as they could in their urban centres.

This property should remain in public ownership, Lauritzen suggested; but be leased out to private investors for their own purposes. The proposal was greeted but the two-day congress was too short to discuss the matter at due length.

The congress passed a whole series of measures. It thought suited to aid this scheme. It demanded quite generally for example what it called a limited right of purchase.

This would mean that a local government body would be able to intervene in

Former minister benefit from new pension scheme

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The Bundestag parties now agree on the proposal that he will be able to claim a pension of 2 years in office.

The Bundestag Budgetary Committee has upheld the unanimous decision of the Home Affairs Committee, though members voted against the motion abstained.

The original proposal to grant, after a year in office was withdrawn by Christian Democrats and Socialists had objected.

A Minister's income will be fixed in future along the lines of his member's pension and paid if he is in office has been longer than one and 273 days.

The law would involve income expenditure totalling 294,000 Marks, rising to an annual 760,000 Marks by 1974/75.

The amount paid as a pension start at nineteen per cent of the income, rising to 75 per cent. It be combined with other income from activity as a public official.

A pension paid to a minister's years of service will begin at the sixty. If a minister has had three office pension payments will begin.

The proposed amendment would the present situation where a minister — even one with long service — could not receive a pension was not at least 55 when leaving office.

Forty-eight ministers are affected the planned reform. Because the pension grant pensions after only one office was withdrawn, nine office ministers will go empty-handed.

(Der Tagespiegel, 11 June 1971)

any property sale and buy the property itself.

The price paid would not be negotiated between the two parties the original contract but the price is by an evaluating committee.

Local government authorities do have a right of purchase for their property and every property owner would be obliged to offer property to the community.

These measures are certainly good will the local councils be able to advantage of the opportunities offered them?

Not even the best tax reform will build up local government reserves to a point where there is enough money for both essential and large-scale property-buying and number of missed opportunities will be high.

As absurd as it may sound, as a policy of this type would only especially in town centres, if the councils themselves act like land speculators.

They should then use as little money as possible and a large credit to buy property in the hope the rise in land value would lead to rate of interest on their own capital cover the money owed for the capital.

This would depend on a law which credit restrictions as long as the borrowed were to be used for property. But this was not discussed in Karlsruhe.

Rudolf Heinrich Aylward
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 June 1971)

FUTUROLOGY

Computer tests reveal bleak prospects for Mankind

The government's environmental programme should have been ready by the end of March. Judging by recent statements, we are now getting close to its publication date.

The programme has to be a minimum programme made up of a number of conservation laws for a variety of reasons.

One reason is that the government will first have to transfer the necessary powers for all areas of conservation to the Bundestag, which is sensibly the only authority now coming into question as a legislative body in this field.

Basic Law will have to be altered so that one of the main problems of the industrial society can be dealt with at the highest possible national level.

Up to now the central government has only been able to pass framework legislation on questions affecting water, nature and landscape conservation. It has no express authority to act on questions of air pollution and noise.

The statement intimating that the programme may soon be published was made at a hearing conducted by the Bundestag Home Affairs Committee.

The public must be interested in what Professor Schlipkötter of Düsseldorf has to say: "It is known that a child's normal development is inhibited by the air conditions currently prevailing in the Ruhr. It takes longer for bone structure to reach its final maturity in Gelsenkirchen children for example compared with those from the Hunsrück or Freiburg areas. Physical development is also retarded."

Additional indications of an imminent publication came from the reactions of industries contributing directly or indirectly to air pollution.

The government has already submitted a Bill to the Bundestag proposing a reduction in the lead content of petrol. From 1972 onwards the lead content would be reduced by thirty per cent to 0.4 grammes per litre. After 1975 it would be limited to 0.15 grammes a litre.

Pointing out that a law reducing lead content would also reduce import possibilities and endanger petrol supply in the Federal Republic, a number of so-called experts pressed for the dates to be put back and demanded measures that would have robbed the law of all its effect.

The experts intimated that if their proposals were not carried out the anti-lead law would have to be submitted for what they called constitutional examination.

Some of the Federal states have expressed their "constitutional misgivings" against granting the central government full powers as far as conservation is concerned. Industry has voiced its own, rather different constitutional misgivings.

These are typical obstacles in our federalist State that, as inadequate as its environmental programme may well be, has at least recognised that it must do something.

All industrial states today are faced by the same problem and it can only be solved by all States working together jointly without paying exaggerated attention to national boundaries.

The poisoning of fish in the Rhine in 1969 plainly showed everyone how miserably the powers of jurisdiction held by each Federal state can fall when faced by an industrial disaster.

We are gradually coming to see that the growing pollution found in the environment is an international problem approaching the dimensions of the population explosion, feeding the millions and the supply of raw materials.

Professor Eduard Pestel of Hanover recently told a Research Community press conference about a large digital computer forecast on which he himself had done a lot of development work.

The scheme is known as the Forrester Model or simply the MIT model after a Professor Forrester who teaches at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The Institute is currently conducting trials to provide a more far-reaching digital computer forecasting method. The work, financed by the Volkswagen Foundation, is headed by Professors Meadow and Forrester.

Though computer programmes of this type are unable to provide a complete forecast of world developments, the factors dealt with allow scientists to get some idea of what will happen in the future.

The Forrester Model deals with four factors — exhaustion of raw materials, increase in pollution, over-population and the food shortage.

Pollution will reach its peak in the year 2060 when it will be six times as great as today.

The computer also reckons the "quality of life", a factor calculated from the material standard of living, the amount of food available per head, population density and the pollution situation.

According to the results the quality of life reached its peak in 1969. Professor Pestel comments, "Perhaps part of our widespread unrest is due to our feeling of going downhill."

Scientists are able to play with such forecast models and try for example to counteract the decline in the quality of living through increased industrialisation. A rapid industrialisation rate would result in increased pollution and the environment would no longer be able to absorb it.

A step planned to increase the general standard of living would thus lead to a pollution crisis together with upheavals in the social structure and a disastrous collapse of the population structure of industrial nations. The developing countries would be able to master the crisis better than we could.

Munich, the city with a heart, on the verge of a heart attack

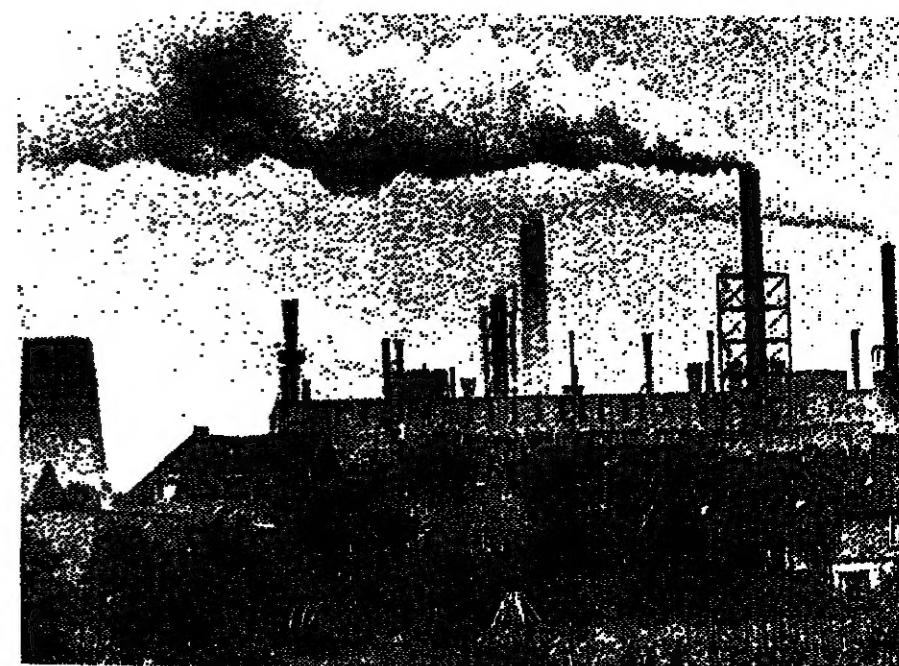
Munich, the "cosmopolitan city with a heart", is on the verge of a heart attack, claims a report dealing with the local government aspects of environmental protection.

Mayor Hans Jochen Vogel has praised the report, describing it as the most comprehensive and thorough survey of this problem at local government level.

More than ninety per cent of the air pollution in Munich can be attributed to motor vehicles. The report states that carbon monoxide causes lassitude, disturbs concentration and helps promote arteriosclerosis.

Greater dangers are posed by the 105 metric tons of nitrous gases that are released in the Munich air every working day. The tolerance level of 0.5 ppm (parts per million) has long been passed in a number of suburbs.

Inhalation of nitrous gases causes disorders of the central nervous system and pulmonary oedema. Scientists have already shown that the carbohydrates



Knapsack, near Cologne, is a classic example of smoking factory chimneys, the erstwhile symbol of a flourishing economy that has now fallen into disrepute. They now point an accusing finger at ruthless industrial practices. Dr Hellmut Ley told the chemical apparatus association at its recent conference in Frankfurt. (Photo: dpa)

Various programmes were fed into the computer and it was shown that it would be possible to retain the present population structure at a constant quality of life.

Professor Pestel points out, "It is however doubtful whether people today would be willing to follow calls for moderation such as a forty per cent cut in the capital production rate, a twenty per cent cut in the rate of food production and a thirty per cent cut in the birth rate."

"The world population figure would then be stabilised at around 3,500 million, pollution would hardly increase, the stores of raw materials would only decrease slowly and, after a short decline in the seventies, the quality of life would increase."

"Unfortunately there is a lot to support the view that human suffering must become far more acute before anti-growth measures of this type would be accepted."

"But our investigations show that it is rather doubtful whether there would then be enough time to overcome the problems, which would then have risen to gigantic proportions, and retain our present quality of life."

Wolfgang Berkefeldt
(Deutsches Allgemeines
Sonntagsblatt, 27 June 1971)

Chemical firms thank government for anti-pollution investment

The chemical industry recognises that questions of conservation are part of the broad field of social policy but states that the main problems posed are technical or legal.

The industry's annual report registers with satisfaction that the responsible departments of both the government in Bonn and the Federal states have, along with science, long promised their support to the chemical industry in solving environmental problems.

The support comes despite the massive and indiscriminate attacks made in past months during discussions on the environment, the report adds.

Both government and Federal states had assured the industry, the report continues, that considerable sums had been spent on conservation long before pollution and the environment became popular catchwords.

Between 1960 and 1969 a total of 3,700 million Marks had been spent on countering pollution. A comparable sum is planned for the period between 1970 and 1974.

(Handelsblätt, 23 June 1971)

every year. This effluent contains so much filth that the water quality has sunk from grade two to grade four (dangerous to health).

The report proposes a number of short-term measures that should be taken to counteract the problem. Non-essential private transport should be restricted in the city. Also, "park and ride" schemes should be extended and conventional transport methods accelerated. More pedestrian precincts should be set up in the town centre.

In view of the gloomy forecasts, the report also suggests an alarm plan for smog. A large section of traffic could then be halted for a certain period of time.

The only solution for overcoming the mountains of rubbish building up is to ban PVC wrapping materials and draw up a black list of other types of refuse that are difficult to destroy.

In order not to endanger the water quantities available a drastic increase in water rates seems one good way to avoid any future shortage.

Along with this step there should be a ban on washing powers and detergents containing phosphate or enzymes.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 25 June 1971)

CINEMA

No punches pulled in latest Gustav Ehmck film



Humanists must be able to hit out!" This saying of Heinrich Mann is the unwritten motto of the film *Die Spalte* (The Cleft).

No one should be irritated by the unambiguous title of this film, nor the more thrilling subtitle *Mit vierzehn Jahren auf den Strich* (Walking the streets at fourteen).

This film by the young director Gustav Ehmck, whose works are involved with social criticism, is neither a pornographic piece nor a whole film for unsatisfied voyeurs. He sets out to provoke and what is more to reach a wide audience.

He is looking for reflections, reactions, not for a weak excuse for porn, but for a report based on reality.

The vital theme of the education and welfare of children, at the present moment a favorite topic with all the media in this country, is also the theme of this film. The story of fourteen-year-old Sophie is one that takes place in reality every day in this country. The crass brutality that we see in this film is something that no film director could make up.

Ehmck took a newspaper report as his basis, following up all the details of the case carefully and exactly. About forty per cent of children brought up in homes in this country run away. But they cannot run away from their fate. They are caught in a vicious circle of running away, freedom, depravity, capture, home and then running away again.

Only a society that is totally lacking in compassion can ignore such a dreadful fate, which often starts in early childhood.

Sophie is a girl without any family. Since childhood she has lived in an orphan's home where she receives the bare bones of an education. She is surrounded by supervisors who have become hardened by years of welfare education work.

Gustav Ehmck shows short but significant episodes from the everyday life in such a home (and it is no consolation to know that there are a few other homes) showing the atmosphere of coldness and lovelessness to which none of the girls who have run away wants to return voluntarily.

One short scene speaks volumes: Little Sophie receives a letter from her mother one day unexpectedly. She is immediately disturbed to receive the letter and the matron makes things far worse by sneering sarcastically: "Here, you can correct a few spelling errors!"

Sophie cries with shame and the rest of the inmates look on grinning, not one of them showing the slightest sign of kindness. It is easy to see the irreparable damage that is done to the heart of a child in this manner.

One day Sophie succeeds in running away. She is fourteen years old, has never learnt much of use and knows nobody to whom she can turn. She gets into the hands of pimps. And so the way is paved for her into the bleak, horrific world of prostitution. She puts on a miniskirt, roams the streets day and night, gets into cars, spends hours in seedy hotels and has to hand over the money she makes.

She is reserved for a "fine gentleman" and makes love in his smart apartment while she has her maidenhead, but when he has brutally deflowered her life moves to the filthy cellar of a tatty bar where she receives dozens of foreign workers.

Sophie is dehumanised. She becomes nothing but a cleft which mechanically performs the sex act. The camera does not shy away from looking at Sophie's fate. It must not. It shows a kind of misery that invokes horror. There can be no question of the audience for this film enjoying it as a piece of voyeurism.

From her childhood Sophie has been used to mishandling, but nevertheless tries to run away again. But her pimp's friends catch up with her and beat her with wet cloths leaving her lying.

An older prostitute takes sympathy on her and puts her in contact with students who are running a rehabilitation group. For the first time in her life Sophie is treated as a human being. She looks after children and plans to learn a profession.

But it never gets that far. In our social system there are rules, laws, order! This must be preserved whatever it may cost in terms of human dignity.

The student group is set upon by the gang of pimps. A fight ensues. The police arrive on the scene and arrest... not the pimps but the students.

The girls are discovered in a hiding place and as they have no papers on them are arrested. Their fate is certain. Back to the home. Neither protests nor pleas for human decency can sway the Law from its course, and try as he might the leader of the rehabilitation group cannot change this.

The official who makes this decision may just be one of the lower ranking men in society and fear for his job, but one sentence coming from his lips underlines the whole miserable mentality of a society that wants nothing more than peace: "We have less trouble from the pimps than the students."

This sentence, like the official himself, is true to life. There is nothing contrived in the whole script of the film. Gustav Ehmck got policemen, officials and lorry drivers to play themselves - he replaced film-music with true-to-life music. He did not have a colour consultant advising on the make-up of each scene - his colours stick out like a sore thumb and clash, as they do in real life.

The film was created spontaneously. It is a real attempt at provocation, an exhortation to consider and reconsider the fate of young people in our midst, young people who are destroyed by our indifference.

Ehmck's film is crude - as crude as reality.

Eise Goetz
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 June 1971)



A still from 'Die Spalte' (The Cleft)
(Photo: Carst-Henrich)



Björn Andresen as Tadzio and Dirk Bogarde as Aschenbach in Visconti's 'Death in Venice' (Photo: Wewel)

Visconti's long and beautiful Death in Venice

Venice is the beautiful dying city in which dying is so beautiful. Richard Wagner died in Venice. Thomas Mann, filled with the music of Wagner, let his poet hero Gustav Aschenbach die in the doges' city.

Once again Venice has become a mythical location of a symbolic death. Luchino Visconti shot his film of Thomas Mann's novella *Death in Venice* in the famous city, enriching it with motifs from Mann's *Doktor Faustus*.

No other scene in the world embodies art as virtually "aimless" beauty as Venice. And it is the ideal location for the death of an artist who is condemned to death and cut off from real life.

In 1971 in Visconti's hands this material, of course, has a different effect from the way it was handled by Thomas Mann in 1905. The "bravely moral" Aschenbach was formerly the protagonist of the observed decay of the substance of bourgeois life with a touch of subtle irony. Mann treated this subject of decay with sentimentality while at the same time following Hegel's dialectic. It was a heroic formal attempt to achieve Classical constraint and ethical-artistic culture.

The Soul and the Forms - it is not merely by chance that a collection of essays by the young Georg Lukacs written at the same time bore this title. Mann's novellistic vision was more pessimistic and more clairvoyant.

The unfulfilled homo-erotic attachment of the world famous poet to the young

Tadzio, the incarnation of nature, is a metaphor for the dichotomy: sensual observation of the beautiful, spiritually moral struggles for art.

The platonic Phaedra dialogue measures Mann's novella. In it the ideal spirit remains incapable of action with tangible reality. Aschenbach, broken by this and the boy he becomes his angel of death.

Visconti turns the poet into a seer but does not introduce the problem of a demonised twelve-tone technique. *Doktor Faustus* but identifies Aschenbach more with a fin de siècle man.

There is a strange contrast in construction of the action of the film between the fact that the composer world-famous and the catastrophe of success in the public eye that takes place in a flashback, reminiscent of Leverkühn, the hero of *Doktor Faustus* or alternatively Arnold Schoenberg.

The moribund climate of "death beauty" is underlined by Mahler's music and in particular the adagio from his fifth symphony. Gustav Aschenbach is the same Christian name as Mahler.

The nostalgic mourning of this music rhythmically correlated to the film's sometimes painfully long but intentionally beautiful attitudes he gives Mahler's melody of decay with utmost beauty of composition.

Apart from the short sequence of recollection from Aschenbach's life the stations to his death are shown in manic copiousness.

The film is seen, however, not through Aschenbach's eyes. Visconti makes a central character intentionally a passive, thus creating distance, especially with a kind of quiet comedy that stems from this tragic figure. Dirk Bogarde carries this off with pregnant, unobtrusive acting ability. He is in every film a refined bourgeois artist who becomes a spiritual aristocrat.

His death occurs in a far more manner than in the novella and in the film that are arranged like the act of tragedy.

Uncannily every motif points to this death. There are the beggar women, the hideously-painted old person on the ship and then gradually the city is threatened with the plague and emptying tourist hotel.

Finally there is the macabre high

Continued on page 7

OPERA

Taoist ideals dominate new Isang Yun opera

Isang Yun, the 53-year-old Korean composer, has chalked up a new opera with his opera *Geisterliebe* (The Love of Spirits), commissioned by Kiel Opera and given its premiere during this Kiel Week (Kiel Yachting Festival).

The libretto is based on a novel called *Geisterliebe* written by the seventeenth century Chinese poet Pu Sung-Lin. The story, taken from old folktales, is a parable of Taoist ideals.

Geisterliebe does not however reproduce the original Chinese text in its entirety. Harald Kunz wrote the libretto, reducing the fable to its essentials and extracting the basic ideas it contains.

The opera avoided making Oriental folklore appear trivial and took the strict form of a parable whose logical conclusions leave nothing to be desired.

Kunz was however unable to avoid linguistic trivialities. Some passages were written in a stilted, self-important style while others did not escape the regions of pure cliché.

The libretto was a failure as far as literary value was concerned. Desire for instance, was expressed in the phrase: "Yes, I shall eat him!"

The person with this hungry love is a cross between a human being and a demon, a female spirit in the form of a vixen. There are two vixens in the opera. They are rivals and later become the lovers of the young scholar Pan Hon-San who, at the beginning of the action, writes a book called "On the Non-Existence of Spirits".

But the intellectual does not stick for long to the theories he expressed on

paper. Daemonically entranced and consumed with overpowering love for the two vixens, he learns to appreciate the power of the spirits, the love of whom is tantamount to death.

Abandoning his reason, he begs the mother goddess Hsi Wang-Mu to turn the vixens into human women. His petition is granted and the demons leave their beautiful animal bodies to assume human form.

Pan Hon-San is able to observe the magical transformation before he dies. The female shaman who comments on the events in song or on the drums assures the audience that life and death are steps to a new future.

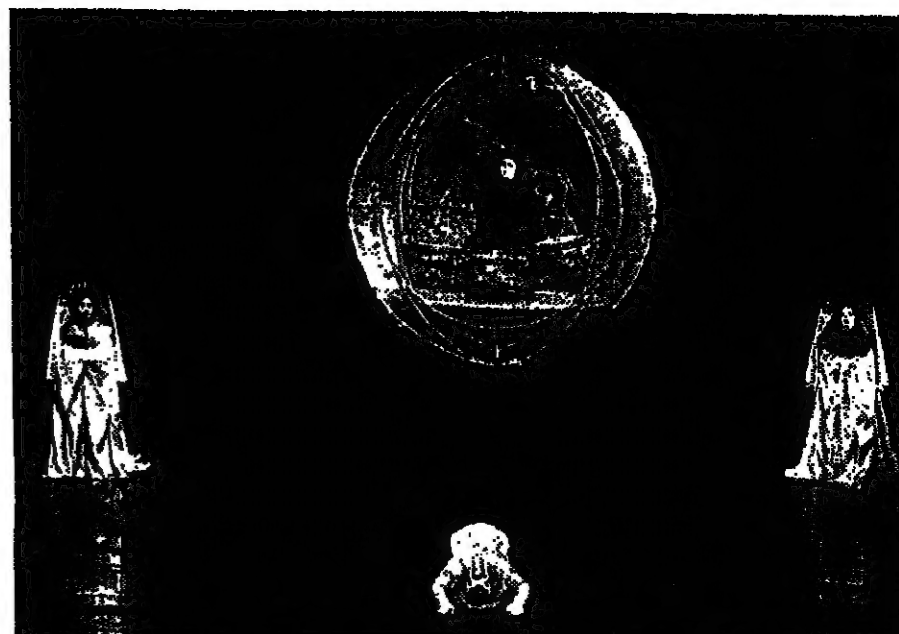
The antithesis of rationality and emotion, of mind and heart that is found throughout the parable of the life and death of Pan Hon-San could easily induce a person to think that the opera deals merely with the extremely simple realisation that life cannot be lived or understood with the intellect alone.

But it is more than this. It is part of an ideology that sees all aspects of existence - however contradictory they are - as changing forms of one basic principle.

The mythology of rebirth and reincarnation is itself part of this principle which is described with the word Taoist.

When the many inadequacies of the libretto are ignored, audiences will still be left with the urge to find out more about life, society and religion in Asia, a subject that few Europeans know much about.

Isang Yun's extremely sensual music also provides an incentive to find out more about Asia. It is one of the best



A scene from Isang Yun's opera *Geisterliebe* premiered in Kiel
(Photo: Haendler-Krah)

operas to have been written in recent years.

Geisterliebe cannot however be compared with works such as Mauricio Kagel's *Staatstheater* that was recently given its premiere in Hamburg and questions the whole genre of opera.

Geisterliebe is not an experimental work. It does not expand the concept of opera, nor does it call it into question. Compared with what else occurs today in the broad field of musical theatre, it is not so progressive as individual.

Yun's personal style has two roots - the courtly music of Korea and the modern music of Western Europe. The way he combines the two ingredients still has its charm.

As in the Korean composer's orchestral works, certain basic notes are varied and modified. The music is typified by a flow

of movement, a constant river of sound whose banks widen or narrow or are flooded by waves of rhythm.

Quick series of notes are rendered glissandi by the woodwind and strings and these and the variety of percussion instruments used produce a musical colour that never seems at a loss for new combinations.

Apart from the normal European instruments, Yun uses Asian whips, Siamese gongs, temple blocks and Korean hanging drums.

The connection between music and stage is rarely direct. The emotional background outweighs the dramatic. The recurrent bursts of colour become more important. The piano plays when the vixens enter and the demons are accompanied by strongly rhythmic passages. Vocally, the opera ranges from recitative to expressive aria.

Rolf Gaster
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 June 1971)

Berlin Academy of Arts arranges youth theatre festival

performance of the Stockholm *Marionette* theatre, they just took over the stage.

They scrambled over the apron and pushed their way into the play without any pretence to the contrary. They made direct contact with the performers, the marionettes and toy animals and continued playing with them. It was pure anarchy.

Once teachers would have torn their hair at the sight and chased the children off the stage back to their seats. But the Stockholm company were able to chalk up this fervent and wild demonstration as a sign of approval and as a victory. Their Pooh Bear story had spectacular success. The children had liked it so much they took it over.

The most aesthetically pleasing performance came from the *Theatre Populaire Romand* of Switzerland. The adventures of Renard the Fox were played in an enchantingly simple style and in an effortless choreographic arrangement.

The children were not told everything - on purpose. The action was indicated and the children had to complete it by themselves. It was their imagination that was to supply the final polish and colour and they were meant to enjoy themselves in the process. This too seemed to succeed.

Once the Eastern European children's theatres provided an example for the rest of the world but this no longer seems to be the case.

The Small Theatre from Belgrade provided a type of comprehensive revue. In

song and dance, with puppets and revue acts and with considerable use of lighting and music it taught the advantages of being able to read.

It was full of pretty, theatrical decoration but was clearer, fussier and more important than children like.

Wim Zomer and his Amsterdam *Theatergezelschap* aimed at collaboration with the children. He sketches out a plot - rather hazily at first - and invites children on to the stage to take part.

The question is whether this is children's theatre or just a way to keep children occupied. Is it more a children's game than an inspiring production in its own right which would attract the children's attention?

The borderline is obscure. The adults who attended the youth festival for hours on end finally recognised that despite public discussion and consideration of the subject there was still no clarity as to what children's theatre was. Producers are still experimenting or are on well-beaten paths.

It could be seen that children today, thanks to television, have long been subject to visual sensations that we did not know when we were young. They look on things in a far more adult manner and far more respectfully than children of the previous generation. They react far more conversationally, far more critically and far more sensibly than their parents and grandparents did when they were young.

It is to be hoped that enough experts were looking on. At events of this type it is not so important to see what is happening on stage. It is far more fruitful and far more astonishing to watch what is going on in the stalls.

These are tomorrow's theatre-goers. It is they who will decide whether there is a future for the theatre. Friedrich Luft
(Die Welt, 23 June 1971)

Continued from page 6

Aschenbach and the haldresser who makes the death mask from a living head. Visconti's gaze penetrates the facets of the Aschenbach character, but not its range. In this respect the film does not add anything decisive to the novella version. It is often just a case of translating details into a new medium, for instance the heavily perfumed flowers in the hotel room. This is despite the synthesis of motifs with *Doktor Faustus*.

Visconti's work corresponds to an astonishingly intact concept of Classicism even in modern Italy, with art being driven to the utmost efforts to achieve formal completeness. He gets caught up in the immensity of art even where art shows its preparedness for death.

Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 June 1971)

Oberhausen-Moscow film exchange

Oberhausen and Moscow would like in future to do an exchange of the films that are shown at their respective festivals. According to the head of the German short-film conference in Oberhausen, Will Wehling.

Wehling stated that he had been approached on this matter by the Soviet film minister, Vladimir Golovina, during the German short-film conference in Oberhausen.

In the Polish city Will Wehling showed films that had been presented at Oberhausen and received prizes.

The Soviet Minister for Films has invited the lady burgomaster of Oberhausen, Luise Albertz, to visit the Moscow Film Festival.
(Die Welt, 9 June 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Schools must re-educate public to accept change

When geography finally became established as a subject at Prussia's high schools in 1882, it was based on nineteenth century views and attitudes. As the background has been changed by reforms it seems that a thorough re-examination of the subject is necessary today. That is why working groups were set up within the School Geography Association in 1970.

Geographical knowledge is often needed to master present-day problems such as the redistribution of the population under the influence of regional and social changes, the harmonisation of residential structures with today's technological opportunities and social needs and the changes in the location of the population's place of work.

It is also needed when considering the demands that increasing leisure time place on the environment. Agricultural structures have to be formed with the aid of geography, administration must conform to social needs and technical possibilities with its help.

Geography is also an important factor in preserving the ecological balance in the human environment or creating a coastal protection system by adapting dykes and similar constructions to the prevailing conditions on the section of the coast in question.

Of course geography is not the only science to deal with these questions. A number of other university disciplines such as town planning, transport and sociology have to be considered.

When reforming this field, it must be remembered that the frontiers between the various subjects were not meant to be eternal.

The aim of any reform must be to depict rationally and objectively the decision processes and distribution of roles of groups of people in forming their environment. Pupils must then complete the process and change behavioural patterns.

A joint study congress was arranged for this purpose during the course of the spring by the Tutzing Academy for Political Education and the West German Geographers' Central Association.

Some eighty experts from the fields of politics, science, education, administration and publishing attended the congress.

State Secretary Professor W. Ernst, President of the Academy for Environmental Research and Country Planning, Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel of Munich, the President of the Cities' Congress, and Dr E. Wolf, a woman member of the Bundestag Development Aid Committee, gave impressive speeches on the problems posed by the geographical and social environment for teaching at schools.

Sciences closely related to geography such as town and country planning, transport, regional economics and ecology and yet not included in the geography syllabus taught at schools all staked their claim for a curriculum covering the whole subject.

Geographers such as Hans Bobek of Vienna, Karl Ruppert of Munich, Harald Uhlig and Eugen Ernst of Gießen and Joachim Engel of Bremen then answered the politicians' questions and the desires of the closely related disciplines.

A few features of the American High School Geography Project were mentioned as a basis for possible reforms. The scheme seems to have succeeded in applying the results of scientific research to teaching far more quickly than was previously the case.

The oft-criticised country-by-country

geographical teaching method has been replaced in the project by research situations, the solution of problems and the methods acquired from many other forms of education. The whole area of geography is considered.

In the United States well-known geographers from both schools and universities, educationalists and psychologists spent ten years and grants totalling almost three million dollars in developing a course for an American Senior High School.

The shock of the first Sputnik led to the investment but money for further projects of this type is now scarce because of the effects of the great recession.

The aim of a curriculum project in the Federal Republic should be to teach pupils a method of acquiring geographical techniques and skills and not merely to communicate facts.

The traditional, mainly verbal style of teaching has little to offer the new method. Geography, like few other subjects, can offer a large number of working methods which can when used in combination with various media help young people to develop their ability of recognition and help them use their acquired skills to practical effect.

If this new idea of geography is to be adopted there must be intensive public relations work. Teachers must be trained so that they will be able to teach according to the new methods. There must be close cooperation with the educational authorities and learning aids must be constantly improved.

The new-style geography could not be introduced to schools in the Federal Republic by a series of fragmentary reforms. It will need a firm, decisive step by all those people and bodies who feel responsible for university science and study and school teaching.

Only then will the new method attain a degree of educational effectivity appropriate to the current position of geographical sciences, education studies and psychology and be part of the necessary reform of the whole curriculum.

A reform in geography teaching will give society the guarantee that the future generation is ready and able to solve the urgent problems of geography and social planning more rationally and in a more humane fashion than previously.

A committee was set up at the Tutzing Academy to inform the two-yearly Geographers' Congress about a project of this type for the Federal Republic.

Seventeen hundred geographers turned up for the body's congress held in Erlangen and Nuremberg from 31 May to 4 June 1971 to discuss proposals made to change various features of geography teaching.

This was the largest geographers' Congress since the war and it had set itself important tasks.

One of the subjects thought to be of decisive importance for the planned curriculum project was raised at the opening session in a speech by Karl Ruppert of Munich on "Regional Organisation and Administrative Reform as a Sociological Commitment - Geography in the Service of Environmental Organisation".

The presence of Bavarian Minister of the Interior Bruno Merk, who made a short speech on the importance of this subject on the agenda, showed that a politician would normally be unable to solve the conflict of social interests on a rational plain in a scientific age without the help of science.

If decisions are not to be made above the heads of those affected, they must be given adequate information and an opportunity to participate in the planning process. And where are they to acquire such qualifications if not during their school years?

Many well-meaning projects fail not because of technical problems involved longer be able to compare the speaking and reading ability of classes who had English lessons in elementary school with those who did not begin until secondary school.

Teaching aids and a handbook for teachers are now available in Hesse for an educational publishing house in the Federal state.

The money for the gaily coloured and picture cards will be provided by this autumn by the general teaching fund and not a school's budget for experimental classes.

There are also four-week long courses in Britain for teachers. They for the second time some twenty elementary school teachers will be able to take part and ministry grants are available.

Hesse is not the only Federal state where there have been experiments in teaching younger schoolchildren a foreign language. There have also been experiments in Baden-Württemberg, Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein.

Unfortunately there is no clear general control of who is working on and how on experiments of this type. That is not only the fault of a much-criticised federalism. In few educational experiments has the impact been taken so much by individual teachers, headmasters or government officials.

Experiments were often unofficially begun with and the education authorities

Hesse gives the go-ahead for foreign language teaching at primary school

Unless the whole project fails because of financial problems, the Federal state of Hesse will take the first cautious step this autumn of allowing elementary-school English teaching to pass the experimental stage.

This year 150 classes with about five thousand pupils have taken part in the experiments which for the past two years have been backed by the Ministry of Education.

The children are acquainted with the sound of the foreign language through rhymes, songs and games. They show no inhibitions when copying the alien sounds and words spoken by their teachers and after a few weeks already have a large enough vocabulary to take part in a question and answer game.

Many years will pass before all eight and nine-year-olds in the Federal state can be given English lessons. Even at the secondary schools where English has been compulsory for the past twenty years only fifty per cent of pupils are actually taught it.

This is due to the shortage of English teachers and as long as this shortage continues, the Ministry says, secondary schools will be given priority when it comes to allocating staff.

It would make any efficient control of success impossible. Experts would no

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The same is true for the rationalisation of urban living in residential areas crowded around town centres or in the country.

Though there is an inadequate community infrastructure in the country, too few schools for example - people prefer to live there because of the "property".

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Robert Godel (Frankfurt, 15 June 1971)

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■ MEDICINE

Doctors discuss pros and cons of working methods

What we need is a list of the conditions that make a person's place of work tolerable or not," a trade unionist told a congress arranged in Munich by the Bavarian Academy of Labour and Social Medicine.

Research into the factors that make a worker ill is still in its infancy and doctors at the congress were unable to give a satisfactory reply. But there are already sound data showing whether a particular job ruins health or not.

Most experts agree that the tolerability of a person's place of work begins with the working atmosphere. Dr Botho Schmid explained how often this principle was signed against.

Dr Schmid spent five years as a doctor in a large car factory before moving on to become head of the Neurological Hospital in Gießen. To illustrate his point, he reported a case that seems to be typical for many firms.

Every now and again workers on a large machine would have a minute's break as the machine would have to be fed more material. During these frequent pauses

they would stand around idly as there was nowhere for them to sit down.

They asked for benches or seats to be provided and the works doctor supported their demand. The firm however refused, stating that there was no space and that it was against safety regulations.

After pressing the point, the works doctor found the real reason: "Once the men have sat down, they will continue sitting and read a newspaper," Dr Schmid asks perplexed, "Since when has readiness to work been linked with standing?"

Professor Wolf Müller-Limmroth, a labour physiologist from Munich's Technical University, stated, "The arguments against providing seats do not hold water. Even if a person could only sit down for a short time, the relaxation would be great."

But firms are only gradually coming to realise this. Train drivers for instance have to stand for long periods or sit on completely inadequate seats or boards.

"The reason given was that real seats would be too expensive - and that in locomotives costing millions of Marks. Only now have the railway authorities in Munich developed seats compatible with the findings of labour physiology."

Professor Müller-Limmroth also mentioned a number of methods to measure the physical and mental stress at a person's place of work.

Radio equipment the size of a packet of cigarettes, pulse rate measurements, lie

detectors and electrocardiogram readings could provide labour doctors with information on how to improve working conditions.

Speaking about the problem of shift work, Dr Schmid stated, "Changing the biological day and night rhythm is impossible, even after years and years of night work. Blood pressure, temperature, the level of blood sugar, enzyme production and the corpuscle count all show that."

"The will to work is reduced. During night work normal daylight production can only be kept up by pulling all the stops and then mistakes are often made."

"About fifty per cent of all night shift-workers complain of lack of appetite, digestive disorders or poor sleep. Only five per cent of shift-workers who do not have to work nights have similar complaints. Night shift workers also tend to have more heart attacks and stomach ulcers."

Production line work does not seem to be half so dangerous and can be carried out, if the speed is correct, until the worker qualifies for a pension.

Professor J. Rutenfranz, the Gießen labour doctor, stated that it was only high-speed working that was dangerous. The pulse rate increases, workers break into a sweat, become irritable, emotions are pent up and frustration is common. High-speed work probably also leads to serious circulatory complaints.

Doctors also confirmed that there are good aspects to production line work: "It protects workers from arbitrary work-sharing and injustices in pay. This type of solution would be good for office workers though it cannot unfortunately be put into practice." Florian Rauberg/PAM (Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 June 1971)

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were not informed of what was happening until later - if at all.

This spontaneous and uncoordinated action has meant that many experiments that began with enthusiasm were soon ended when the initial and encouraging feeling of success was past or when difficulties assumed such proportions that there was not enough money or staff to develop a continual teaching programme.

Teachers were unable to use the normal textbooks for their lessons which were based on speaking, imitation and play. They were forced to obtain their own material, though no money had been set aside for this in the school budget.

In so far as they were informed, the ministries looked on benevolently at their elementary school teachers' experimental work. But financial aid was small as the experiments had not been envisaged in the education development plans and programmes.

Carefully planned largescale experiments have been carried out with the help of scientific institutes for a number of years in Britain, France and Sweden.

From 1972 onwards English will be compulsory for children in the third year of Swedish elementary schools.

Sabine Gerbaylet (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 June 1971)

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Biotechnical aids shed new light in dental research

along with X-ray techniques, the inner dental processes can be followed. Any changes in the hard areas of the tooth or the soft tissue of the oral cavity are registered.

Electronic measurements of how quickly the tooth grows help dentists to learn about the natural and pathological processes involved in tooth growth at the roots.

Radio telemetrics can for example register the acid content in the film covering the teeth which is thought to cause caries.

An infra-red camera has been developed in Sweden to find out the causes of

inflammation of the gums and abscesses in the general area of the face and jaw.

Tooth transplants was one of the subjects discussed at the congress. Professor Fröhlich reported cases where teeth had been knocked out and then replanted again by dentists in their practices or at a hospital.

It is also possible to transplant a patient's tooth to another part of his mouth, the dentists attending the congress were told.

Professor Fröhlich said he saw little chance of transplanting teeth from person to person in the future. Because of the low metabolism of the tooth there was not so much chance of the transplanted tooth being rejected as there was with skin transplants. But, he said, the gums were not particularly suited to receiving a strange tooth.

Hubert Neumann (Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 17 June 1971)

Growing old gracefully at thirty

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Professor René Schubert, the President of the Gerontological Association, told the 500 doctors from fifteen European countries attending the organisation's annual congress in Nuremberg that a healthy old age was important.

Professor Schubert, who is also the head of one of the city's hospitals, said that he regretted there was no chair of gerontology at any university in the Federal Republic.

Most countries had gerontology departments at their universities, he said, and they had been set up long ago in the German Democratic Republic.

Schubert emphasised the importance of preparing for old age and not facing a vacuum after the arbitrary retiring age was reached.

Affluence was one of the greatest dangers, he added. People were eating too well and had too little movement. They were thus virtually committing suicide. Preparations for old age should begin at thirty with increasing temperance in eating and drinking habits.

Treatment with artificial heart pacemakers had become more important, Professor Oberwittler of Münster stated. Between 1961 and 1970 a total of 278 patients in Münster had received an artificial pacemaker. Of this total 75 per cent were older than 61.5 and 25 per cent older than 74.7.

Compared with ten years ago, school children do not take such a bleak view of sixty-year-olds, Professor Lehr of Bonn University's psychology department stated.

Sixty-year-olds were no longer seen by the young as people who just sit around doing nothing. Instead detailed descriptions were given of their hobbies, ranging from fishing and beekeeping to hunting, sport and sailing around the world.

Most of today's ten to fourteen-year-olds believe that when they are sixty they will have close contact with their children and grandchildren and hope that they will show more tolerance towards the younger generation than can be observed in some cases today.

Professor Blume of the Cologne Institute of Social Research and Social Policy opposed the idea of retraining centres for older workers.

Retraining should be completed at the latest when the worker is between thirty and forty, he said, and if possible within the firm as centralised retraining offices robbed older workers of any wish to be retrained.

In the next few years attempts must be made to prepare workers who are fifty or more for the problems of old age. The proportion of workers over 44 will increase from the 1968 figure of 28.2 per cent to 30.5 per cent in 1980.

At the opening ceremony Professor Fritz Verdarg, Budapest-born though now working in Basle, received the Association's Max Bürger Prize and a cash award of five thousand Marks.

The 84-year-old Professor was awarded the Prize for his work "Primary Ageing of Macromolecules, Mechanisms and Results". In the work Professor Verdarg states that the reason why a person ages must be looked for in the protein metabolism.

The results of his investigation are important primarily because conclusions as to treatment can now be drawn. The ageing process can be controlled to a certain extent to avoid exaggerated conditions due to growing old.

Hubert Neumann (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 June 1971)

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Robert Godel (Frankfurt, 15 June 1971)

■ THE ECONOMY

Hans-Günther Sohl takes over from Fritz Berg at the BDI

When Fritz Berg retires from his position as president of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industries (BDI) and Hans-Günther Sohl takes over from him the post-war era of West German industrial policy will come to an end.

For more than twenty years Fritz Berg, who is now nearly 70, from a middle-class, Westphalian business family, was at the head of the umbrella organisation of West German industry.

This is an achievement worthy of recognition. Industry will doubtless be grateful for his services even though not all industrialists were completely in agreement all the time with his conservative attitudes and the economic and social services policy ideas of a right wing flavour that he advocated.

Fritz Berg is a man who was not averse to straying from a prepared text during a discussion and speaking his mind forthrightly without carefully weighing up all his words.

He was a prime mover in the reconstruction of the industrial association after the war. When the Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie was founded in 1949-1950 he was undoubtedly the most suitable person to take over the office of president.

Here was a man who had no political burden to carry, an industrialist of high

independence who devoted himself entirely to the important office of spokesman for West German industry with dedication and indeed a fair degree of sportive pleasure.

Berg has already assured himself a place in industrial history for the manner in which he carried out the enormous task of re-opening the links with industry in other countries that had been torn apart by the war.

On many trips to all four corners of the earth he was successful in gaining the confidence and trust of all in the young Federal Republic of Germany, either on his own or at the head of a BDI delegation.

Perhaps his greatest successes were achieved on his visits to the United States where he created understanding for the problems of the West German economy.

Fritz Berg was strongly in favour of the freest possible world trade, but was also a champion of the course of a united Europe.

Although he is a representative of the industrial middle classes Fritz Berg has always accepted the need for companies to merge into large concerns as a means of securing a competitive place on world markets.

His successor, Hans-Günther Sohl, is a representative of just this big industry, being one of the top managerial staff of the largest steel company in this country, one of the main pillars of the BDI.

He knows how important large company units are in the steel industry and has seen to it that the Thyssen group, of which he is the head, has become the largest such company in the European Economic Community. He will now have to see to it that in extra-parliamentary discussions on economic affairs policies the vital interests of small and medium-sized industrial concerns are given a hearing.

There will be members of the industrial middle-classes who will treat the future BDI president, at first, with a certain amount of reserve and pursue a policy of wait-and-see, judging their next move on the line he takes.

Anyone who has first-hand experience of Sohl's diplomatic skills will be assured that he will soon succeed in dispelling any mistrust of his office.



Fritz Berg (left) and Hans-Günther Sohl, old and new presidents of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industry

A new style of leadership will be brought to the Confederation of Federal Republic Industries when he takes over as president. Hans-Günther Sohl is quiet-spoken. He is a man who tries to convince his audience with the objectivity of his arguments.

This is the way it should be. Only unemotional discussions of economic affairs policies and representation of really legitimate industrial interests to the government and Bundestag will achieve a positive response from the general public and capture the support that West German industrialists will need in future, perhaps even more than in the past, if they are to achieve their justified demands and repel excessive demands from the State on the productivity of industrial concerns.

In his future office as BDI president Hans-Günther Sohl will be served well by his broad experience on the international scene.

The fact that he was elected the first president of the International Iron and Steel Institute in Brussels immediately after the foundation of this institute shows how much his advice and careful judgment is appreciated abroad as well.

The president and managerial staff of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industries have moved into their new headquarters in Cologne on the banks of the Rhine.

Karl Heinrich Herchenröder
(Händelsblatt, 16 June 1971)

Bonn clamps down on tax havens

The recently concluded phrasing of a new agreement with basic information, however, works backward from the tax evasion legislation.

Switzerland has been the most important tax oasis for West Germans, more important than Liechtenstein, Monaco, Panama, Liberia, The Bahamas and Bermuda, which are mere regions with an extremely low level of taxation.

This is partly to do with the geographical proximity of Switzerland but also with the peculiarity of Switzerland as being the only federated State in the world that does not levy major taxes centrally, but leaves this to the 25 cantons, which make vastly differing use of the taxes, but always in such a way that they would derive no disadvantages when competing for the favours of the best upholstered tax refugees. To remain recent years. There are now all kinds of intermediary firms, set up for the most diverse purposes.

International companies use them for tax purposes. They have to keep taxation low.

It is no wonder that the authorities in Bern vacillated for seven years before they agreed to the wishes of the Bonn government and stated that they were prepared to block up the most obvious escape routes.

According to the ruling that will come into force on 1 January 1972 a man such as Herten will be completely subject to normal German taxation for five full years after he moves to sunny Ticino. The taxes that he has to pay in Switzerland will be taken into account.

So in future it will not be so easy to dodge the West German tax officials by setting up an intermediary company, a so-called letterbox firm in Switzerland. About 10,000 companies have set up addresses in all the Swiss cantons in

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MINING

Ruhr coal must rationalise if pits are to break even

Only two years after the coal mines in the Ruhr industrial area were merged into one major company, Ruhrkohle AG, great fanfares and a lot of ballyhoo, Ruhrkohle has plunged into a crisis from which only a radical rationalisation programme can rescue it.

On account of the grim situation which has recently become oppressively worse Ruhrkohle AG has drawn up a programme of adjustment that according to its chairman of foundation will not be disrupted until the end of this year.

But this programme will make provision for a supply source of three and a half million tons of bituminous coal to be closed down prematurely. Ten to twelve million tons of coal will be mined instead from more profitable pits.

In the midst of the crisis surrounding Ruhrkohle rumours started spreading that the Chairman of the Board of the company, Hans-Helmut Kuhnke, would be relieved of his post prematurely.

Hans-Günther Sohl, the boss of Thyssen and member of the advisory board of Ruhrkohle was quoted as having said

Leber criticises consumer-oriented thinking

Bonn Transport Minister, Georg Leber, speaking at the annual general meeting of the BDI in Düsseldorf, criticised the Confederation for being too busy on the importance of consumer goods and criticised BDI for being too responsible for this with its campaigns on advertising.

He said that the general attitude towards consumer activity today was that demand should be met but it should be stimulated.

Turning to the leaders of the Georg Leber said: "If wages policies have white hair this is because advertising managers have aroused people's desires and passions."

Retiring BDI president Fritz Berg said great concern at the closing of the proposed increased production and the increased vigilance that was exercised in the levying of property tax income taxes.

He said that they will put a burden more than eighty per cent on yield in case of industrial profits.

Berg explained: "Those who believe that this country's economy can be burdened of this kind over a long period seems to me to be inadequately informed about the state of competitiveness in which we are fighting for our place in international markets and in the European Economic Community."

He came out strongly in favour of a domestic programme within the scope of domestic economic planning. He said as far as public spending was concerned there should not be general policies, carefully devised programmes corresponding to specific situations, giving precedence at long last to consumer investments over State consumer spending.

In order to re-establish stability, said, investments should not be cut but should be encouraged. He said: "The best protection against continued rises is increased supply."

In the next twelve months the concern of industry will not be the loss of employment, but high production costs and unsatisfactory profits, the said elected BDI president, Hans-Günther Sohl, told journalists in Düsseldorf.

We must be prepared for possible battles on the labour front in the few months if wage demands continue along the same lines as at present.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 June 1971)

Fewer miners

The number of people working in the West German coal-mining industry has dropped by more than a half in the past ten years. There were in all 505,000 coal-miners in 1960, but the figure had dropped to about 250,000 by last year. But the amount of coal mined in this time dropped from 142,000,000 tons in 1960 to about 111,000,000 tons in 1970. The amount mined per worker rose from 1.9 to 3.4 tons.

(Die Welt, 9 June 1971)

publicly a detrimental remark about Kuhnke and that he could no longer stick him.

"But Sohl wasted no time in denying these rumours, saying: 'A load of bunkum! Not a word of it is true. I've not said a thing against Kuhnke.'"

The difficult task that faces Kuhnke has led the trade unions to declare their solidarity with him in the work of rationalisation.

The boss of the mineworkers, Adolf Schmidt, said: "We want to help in the work of thrashing out a programme of adjustment if it means that at the end there will be a healthy mining industry in the Federal Republic."

But he has no illusions. He added: "I want to give a warning that even if the adjustment measures are carried through we will be far from having the matter in the bag. I don't believe that we can mine coal profitably in this country without flanking measures."

And Adolf Schmidt leaves no doubt that he will guard the material and social welfare of the miners jealously.

"The unions see no reason why they should pussyfoot with the shareholders who pumped their holdings through Ruhrkohle Aktiengesellschaft two years ago."

Workers' leader Schmidt said that it was a schizophrenic situation that for example, the fuel and power companies made good profits with cheap coal from their ailing pits should now be

allowed to get rid of the sick mining industry but still demand their full share of the profits from electricity generation at the expense of the coal industry that would still be supplying cheap coal.

But the shareholders who cast the fate of the coal industry to the winds believe that they have done the industry a great service. They renounced all profits for twenty years — and in all probability there would be no profits in this time — and now in order to remove the acute shortage of liquid cash want to renounce seven hundred million Marks in the form of demands regarding the contribution of assets towards the capital of the company in favour of a more than uncertain corrective.

Furthermore the State, which paid about one thousand million Marks in coal subsidies a year before the foundation of Ruhrkohle, has decamped quickly and in the opinion of some observers too quickly. In 1971 Bonn has reduced the subsidies for the coal industry to a remainder of 327 million Marks.

In the first two years of the history of Ruhrkohle Hans-Helmut Kuhnke had to write the sum 700 million Marks in red in the company's books although he had twice raised the price of coal and coal products since 1969 and won a court case over the price of foundry coke.

Recently the committee added price increases of between three and five per cent. This together with the previous price correction in April this year was intended to bring in about three hundred million Marks more to Ruhrkohle.

Following the court decision the steel industry has to pay about the same amount more each year. Herr Overbeck, head of Mannesmann, the heavy machinery company, said: "This is no longer a landslide in costs, it is a complete catastrophe."

And miners leader Adolf Schmidt has warned against excessive price increases in the coal industry, saying: "We should not do anything that might affect the competitiveness of the steel industry, which is one of our most important customers and takes about a third of our production."

There is no mine affiliated to the mining union that is not cursed with figures in the red.

The vicious circle in which Ruhr mining is caught is well known to all these involved, industrialists, miners and politicians. But for the time being all talks and discussions about rationalisation of Ruhrkohle goes so far before leading to the

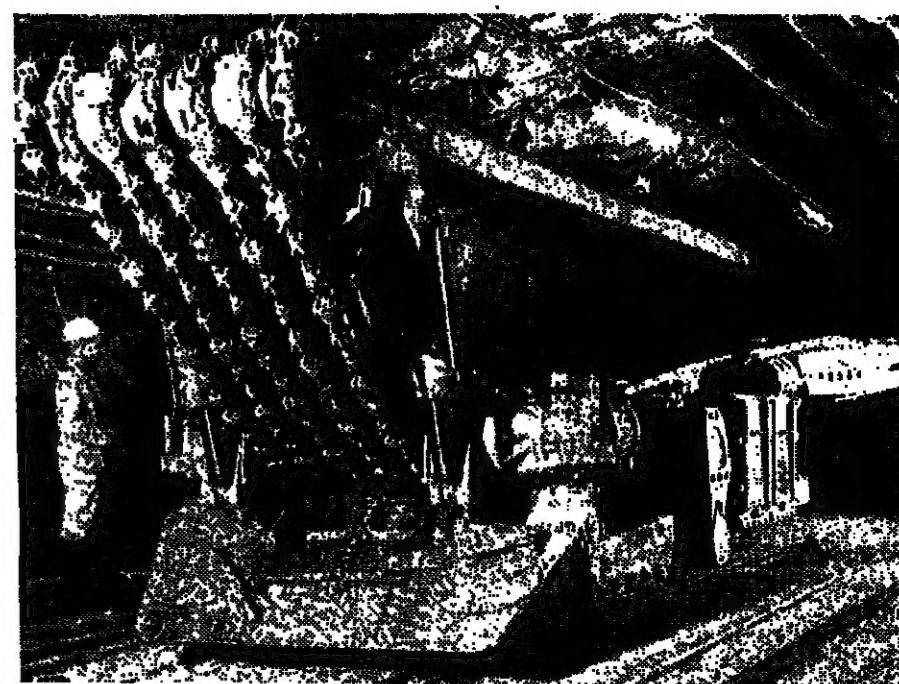
Continued from page 10

tax-free repatriation of profits earned abroad. Artists join umbrella firms in Switzerland so that the prices they receive will be paid into the firm's account books and will thus escape West German tax laws.

Firms that survive on selling licences abroad transfer their patents to a base company in Switzerland to the disadvantage of the West German tax office.

In future the calculation of the income of base companies in Switzerland from the income of the German parent company will be a central part both of the new double taxation agreement and the projected legislation to dry up this tax oasis.

Employers' associations fear that this new legislation could put companies in the Federal Republic at a disadvantage



After a century of ore-mining Langede is one of the most up-to-date pits in the world. A continuous miner is here seen at the pit-face. (Photo: dpa)

most common expression, "yes, but..."

The miners are prepared to work on a rationalisation programme if the owners also do their bit. And the owners are prepared to do what is necessary if the politicians throw in their mite. But the politicians are only keen to act if the other two interested parties show more than goodwill. The most recent attempt to break out of the vicious circle was on 30 June.

Adolf Schmidt sees three steps as being necessary:

— Flanking measures in fuel and power policies over a middle term.

— Continuation of the "Verstromung" legislation, which is due to run out on 13 July.

— Recognition of the realities by the owners.

The last point signifies that the shareholders should roll up and pay up. They should invest in the mines so that modern machinery can be introduced as part of their rationalisation plans.

Of the 52 mines in the united company only fifteen finished last year with positive results. The other 37 ran up losses amounting to 491 million Marks.

Production costs range from sixty Marks a ton in the most efficient pits to 100 Marks in the weakest. Whereas the good pits are already 98.8 per cent mechanised, in the others coal is still mined by hacking and hewing as in granddad's day, and only 14.8 per cent of the production process is mechanised. The amount of work achieved per miner per shift ranges from 2,561 kilograms of coal to 5,692.

It is time we got rid of the bottomless pits. On paper it is simple enough to switch coal production to the more

compared with their competitors in other industrial nations, but these fears are unfounded.

Now as ever the guiding principle will be that the tax should be levied in the country where the economic activity takes place, that is to say according to the law of the State in which production takes place.

Base companies do not produce and only become active when production has ended and the matter in hand is the processing of profits.

The Bonn government is most concerned that West German industry should invest abroad. But it is damaging for the national economy and detrimental to general welfare if capital is exported for tax reasons alone.

Günther Kutter
(Münchener Merkur, 23 June 1971)

efficient pits but in practice any number of difficulties arise. If this policy were to be carried out consistently it would entail a shift of the coal-producing area to north of a line Essen-Bochum-Dortmund.

But for the miner the place of work to which he has become accustomed is important even if he is offered work in a more favourable location. For example it was not easy to transfer workers from the Graf Moltke pit in Gladbeck after this was closed down to the Hugo pit in Gelsenkirchen-Buer although it meant a shorter journey to work for most of the miners.

In the light of this the visions of the Chairman of the Ruhrkohle Board, Karl Heinz Hawn, who is responsible for the research and development department, must be regarded as revolutionary.

He would like to push up the productivity per miner per shift to eight tons. He would like to see those pits where teams of sixty to eighty men bring up about one thousand tons of coal rationalised to the point where 3,000 tons of coal can be produced by ten miners.

He would like to see the whole of the mining industry modernised so that the work force can be cut to a half of its present level.

What is needed is annual investments of 200 million Marks for five years, a total of 1,000 million Marks. This, according to Hawn, would change the relationship of capital costs to personnel costs from the present 40:60 to 70:30. This is a vision and nothing more, since Ruhrkohle has no money.

This together with the imminent adjustment plan and the technical playing of Karl Heinz Hawn who is not very popular at the miners union anyway, incited the officials to keen activity. They marched to see Chancellor Brandt and Labour Minister Walter Arendt in Bonn, interrupted the North-Rhine Westphalia Premier Heinz Kühn and invited Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt to go down the pits with them.

Their aim was clear. Whatever had to happen in the mining industry should not be paid for by the miners themselves.

Adolf Schmidt has a completely clear concept of what he wants. Ruhrkohle can only be helped by helping the miners, not acting against them. However a reduction of the work force is to be introduced it is not to produce social injustices.

Adolf Schmidt is prepared to call for exceptional legislation such as a reduction of the pension age from 55 to 50. Nor are his considerations entirely involved with purely humane motives. If there is uncertainty among the Ruhr miners this will mean that in future it will be difficult to get new blood to join the industry.

Wolfgang Müller-Haseeler
(Die Zeit, 18 June 1971)

■ PROFILE

How Pte Falk came home from Russia and made his city maps a household name

During the war Gerhard Falk was a private in 159 Div and a cartographer by trade. An important trade it was too as the division fought its way out of Russia.

Since the war he has come to be the largest town plan publisher in Europe and divisions, entire armies of tourists find their way round cities in this country and abroad with the aid of Falk guides.

Gerhard Falk, sole owner of Falk-Verlag, Hamburg, sells more than two and a half million town plans a year. The name Falk is virtually synonymous with street map.

His turnover has risen so rapidly and continuously that most Falk town plans are the same price they were fifteen years ago, DM 3.90. The Hamburg map has sold at the same price for twenty years.

Falk, 49, the son of a Berlin banker, thought even in student days in terms of launching his own cartographic publishing firm. The opportunity arose when he came home from the war in 1945 aged 23, ended up in Hamburg and had to look around for some way of earning a living.

His first idea was to publish a town plan of Hamburg in which all streets and areas reduced to rubble were shaded red. The aim was to make it easier for refugees and returning evacuees to find their way around.

The first sections were charted by candlelight in an old bar by Falk and a number of fellow-cartographers he had literally got to know at street corners and the like.

He pedalled his way round the ruins of Hamburg on an old bicycle and noted on an old map what had been bombed and

what had not. He covered half a district a day.

The first map of Hamburg was on the newsstands in October 1945 and cost three reichsmarks. It was followed a year later by a street guide to Hanover and in 1947 by town plans of Frankfurt and Düsseldorf.

Two patents played a crucial part in ensuring success. One is the special folding technique of Falk plans, a method devised by Falk himself to enable map-readers to find their way around without ever needing to spread out more than the equivalent of two pages of a book.

Falk's hyperboloid projection also made it possible to scale down less crowded suburbs to a smaller size, thus saving space.

In addition to these technical refinements, however, Falk plans owe much of their popularity to their attractive design and cheerful gloss and colouring.

Falk soon realised that he would have to "convert military maps into easily readable cartography." He made bold use of contrasting colours in combinations that both pleased the eye and illustrated the context.

In the labyrinth of roads and squares town halls, churches, sports grounds and monuments were sketched in, making Falk plans an attractive proposition even for people unaccustomed to map-reading.

Gerhard Falk himself maintains that "Our product is the *Bild Zeitung* among town plans."

The major maps are reprinted up to three times a year. The Hamburg plan, recently put in its fiftieth appearance, a total 2,200,000 copies having so far been printed.

Each reprint contains roughly 1,000 alterations, usually occasioned by new or renamed roads or even the erection of new telephone kiosks (always indicated in Falk plans).

The new Munich plan, which contains diagrams of the Olympic facilities, is already a best-seller - even in the United States.

The first foreign cities Falk subjected to cartographic scrutiny were Amsterdam and Stockholm, plans of both of which put in their first appearance not long after the 1948 currency reform.

In 1950 he published a plan of Rome and launched it by means of a round tour of newsstands. As he went his rounds competitors threatened to overturn his Ford Taunus.

It took the intervention of a Vatican well-wisher to smooth over the differences. The Vatican had been favourably impressed by the fact that Falk's plan included every single one of Rome's 243 churches.

In order to forestall difficulties Falk has always founded subsidiaries in which local firms have a stake before embarking on new ventures abroad.

Fifteen per cent of the Falk Plan Publishing Co. of London is owned by a local firm while NV Falk Plan CIB of The Hague is jointly owned by a local printer and publisher and the Hamburg enterprise.

With street maps of fifteen Dutch towns already on the market the Dutch subsidiary plans to move into the Belgian market too. There are already Falk plans of Brussels and Antwerp; one of Ghent is shortly to appear.

The firm's latest innovation is a plan of

Moscow. The material on which it is based was procured from a local map publishers, state-owned, with whom Falk signed an agreement the exchange of know-how.

The street names are frequently in three versions, German, Russian and Cyrillic characters. Falk plans to publish maps of Eastern European cities a year from now on. The next plan is of Belgrade.

A third of Falk's ten-million turnover is accounted for by bulk sales, say, large firms that distribute substantial numbers of town plans to their employees.

On World Savings Day last year a major Viennese savings bank had half a million specially printed Falk among their customers.

In 1968 Gerhard Falk expanded the guide sector. His "From Seven to Seven" series is a comprehensive night life of major cities. The guides have so far been published account for roughly 300,000 turnover.

As a Berliner born and bred Falk care to ensure that his guide to the life of East Berlin was up to date. "From Seven to Seven," Falk says, "is a series of the few books that tourists are promptly allowed to take with them when they cross the border to Berlin."

The latest addition to the Falks: the sale in this country of language guides, published in the States by MacMillan. They are sold Falk staffers and sold on the German market.

Despite the rapid rate at which Falk has been and continues expanding hard Falk spends only nine months at his desk. He devotes the rest of time to such unusual hobbies as construction of Stone Age huts on basis of cave paintings and the recreation of a flying machine designed by Leonardo.

Hans Otto Ritz
(Die Zeit, 25 July)

SUBURBIA

Düsseldorf architects plan containerised housing

Handelsblatt
Industriekurier

According to a Düsseldorf team of architects the homes of the future will not be monuments of granite, limestone and sand. They will be lightweight containers that can quickly be assembled to form a block of flats.

Reversible architecture is the team's target. "Built-up areas must be revertible to their original agricultural use," they proclaim in a document supplied to a number of friends and interested parties.

The block can be moved lock, stock and barrel to another site as easily as it was originally erected. When it has outlived its original purpose the demolition firm will not leave behind a mountain of rubble guaranteed to annoy conservationists, neighbours and the powers that be.

Anxiety lest the countryside be reduced to urban wasteland is only one of the considerations the Düsseldorf architects bore in mind. A paramount consideration is that housing can be built swiftly yet without squandering building-land that is growing increasingly scarce.

Building-land cannot be produced out of thin air but provided housing is upright rather than squat, providing skyscrapers are built rather than endless rows of bungalows or semi-detacheds, space is

available for parks, greenery, playgrounds and traffic.

Last but not least the suburban landscape will be less of an eyesore than what in many places has been the result of the well-to-do settling down to build their own houses.

Ease of assembly, disassembly and re-erection and savings in building-land (either directly or indirectly by means of slum clearance) could be said to be the strategic aims of the Düsseldorf team.

The tactics by which they propose to supersede conventional building techniques consist of the introduction of industrialisation, of assembly-line manufacture.

The following comparisons are made in their pamphlet to illustrate the advantages:

- In 1935 a family saloon cost roughly 4,000 Marks. A comparable car today costs 8,000 or so, twice as much, that is. - A detached house containing, as it were, 1,000 cubic metres cost roughly 40,000 Marks to build before the war. It now costs approximately 200,000 Marks, or five times as much.

Assembly-line techniques have thus led to a far slighter increase in prices than the craftsmanship of the building trade. They could, the Düsseldorf architects maintain, be introduced with similar effect in the construction industry.

Their proposals include standardisation of components, cost-saving long runs,

prefabrication independent of weather conditions and assembly regardless of the time of year.

Industrial manufacture of housing units is not to amount to the end of individualism. In the motor industry assembly-line techniques do not preclude the possibility of taking individual requirements into account.

General Motors are quoted as claiming that they can manufacture as many individually designed cars as the sum total of units that roll off the assembly-lines.

Even so no one has his motor car tailor-made. Car-buyers make every use of the combinations available but buy off the peg. Why should this not apply to house-building too?

Industrialisation of skyscraper-construction allows of a far greater degree of individual combinations than is the case with conventional construction floor by floor.

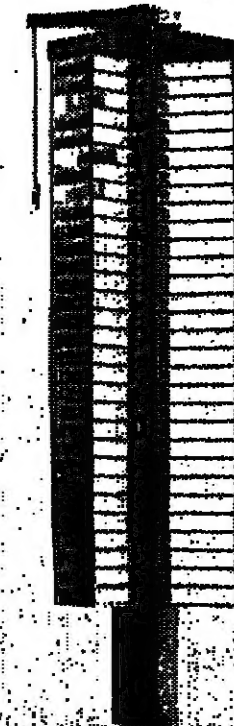
What practical proposals ensue from the critical scrutiny of building techniques undertaken by the Düsseldorf team?

The house of the future, as they see it, will be a unit consisting of a three-sided tower of steel girders that will support the whole.

Container slots will be incorporated in the three sides of the tower. An apartment will consist of between four and six containers. The container, that is flush with the tower will include the hall, kitchen, bathroom, toilet and wardrobe.

Adjacent containers will not be separated by prearranged walls. The space can be disposed of as felt fit. Individual requirements can be catered for without special alterations. This applies not only to the number of rooms but also, of course, to overall floor-space.

Containers can, by the way, be arranged both parallel to and at right angles



Crane at work slotting in containerised housing units
(Photo: Arbeitsgruppe RSC-Turn)

to the core. The core not only supports the entire structure; it also contains drains, mains, stairs and lifts.

The core is built as a steel framework. From the foundations components are conveyed by means of a climbing crane that winds its way up the staircase.

The containers that are then combined to make up the individual apartments differ somewhat from the containers used

Continued on page 16

Lufthansa, in the black last year, face gloomier prospects for 1971

positive rather than a negative view must be taken of the International ramifications of the industry.

Aviation policy remains tied to general political developments, however. Lufthansa is still waiting for the conclusion of an agreement allowing it to use the Polar route to Tokyo, which saves four hours flying time.

The present board seems destined nonetheless to lead Lufthansa through a valley of tears in 1971. Already strikes of ground staff and airport personnel have sliced fifty million Marks off Lufthansa's potential profits for the year in progress.

What is more, each per cent of indirect revaluation of the deutschmark costs Lufthansa a further seven million Marks, IATA rates still being based on the dollar as the unit of account. Costs are rising, too, with no end in sight.

The problems appear insoluble. Even if the deutschmark is restored to the old parity and the worst fears in this connection prove unfounded, and even if the special depreciation allowances rightly used so far (to the tune of 38 million Marks in 1970) are consigned to oblivion in order to keep the corporation out of the red on paper the board will hardly be in a position to recommend another five-per-cent dividend on debentures and four per cent on ordinary shares.

The conflict arising from the board's anomalous position midway between the government as the major shareholder and the general public as a commercial enterprise must not be underestimated.

Lufthansa is so popular with government officials that repeated attempts to bring about a greater distribution of capital in the form of a reduction of the government holding to 49 or even 26 per cent of the present 400 million Marks must remain a pious hope until Bonn learns better.

A reform of the corporation's capital structure is long overdue. The direct and indirect influence wielded by the majority shareholder is to blame for expensive flops such as the recent bankruptcy of Travelair and expensive failures of this kind may well recur.

The government was also responsible for last-minute intervention to forestall Lufthansa buying a holding in Middle East Airlines, a move that would have been bound to result in a foreign policy scandal.

What is more, the income levels of Lufthansa directors continues to have more in common with those of senior government officials than with the salaries paid in private enterprise.

All decisions taken run the risk of being influenced to a greater extent by the wishes of the majority shareholder than by business considerations. The upshot is an approach that sees everything in terms of black and white.

It is too easy to condemn charter airlines outright and blame them alone for poorer business on the North Atlantic run, for instance.

The powers of the Lufthansa board are, in comparison with those of other major

concerns, frighteningly limited although only just, comply with the stipulations of the Joint Stock Companies Act. Up till a year ago Hermann J. Abs, chairman of the supervisory board, astutely coordinated the various interests involved with the overall aim of efficiency. He now seems less interested in so doing.

It may be that the appointment of a new spokesman for the board, a decision on which he was not consulted, and further appointment of Lufthansa personnel director as a board member decision reached in consultation with public service workers union rather than with himself and indeed a decision which not even the board itself was informed beforehand, were not in accordance with Herr Abs's style and he caused trouble and annoyance.

Herrmann J. Abs did not object. He merely altered his tactics. Ever since Herbert Culmann, experienced tactician and spokesman for the board, has been in vain for support from the chairman his supervisory board.

Herr Abs is not being anti, he is being pro. Things have come to a pass that with his support the backbone of Travelair, the Lufthansa subsidiary could have been avoided. Without him was no alternative.

Are these tactics a vote, again, to divided Lufthansa board or a vote against the present Bonn coalition and a majority shareholder or merely intended to set an example? No one knows.

Herrmann Abs will have his reasons. The present government is not the government of his choice and the Lufthansa board is not the board of his choice either.

Kurt W. Stein
(Deutsche Zeitung, 18 July 1971)

Frankfurter Allgemeine

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